

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 17621 212040Z

61

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01 A-01 NIC-01 /074 W

----- 062043

R 211651Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4781

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 17621

DEPT. PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY AND AMB. STOESSEL IN TOKYO

BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IR, UR

SUBJECT: SHAH'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

1. SUMMARY. THE BRIEF SOVIET-IRANIAN COMMUNIQUE (PRAVDA, NOVEMBER 21; TASS ENGLISH WIRE NOVEMBER 20) IS THE COLLEST IN SOME YEARS, AN INDICATION THAT THE SHAH'S TALKS WITH SOVIET  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 17621 212040Z

LEADERS MAY HAVE RUN INTO SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES. COMMUNIQUE



INDICATES THAT THE PARTIES TOOK FURTHER STEPS TO SOLIDIFY A CORRECT BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP BY AGREEING TO NEW LONG-RANGE PROJECTS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION. BUT IN OTHER AREAS, PARTICULARLY IRAQ-IRAN PROBLEMS, THERE SEEMED TO BE LITTLE OR NO PROGRESS AND A POSSIBLE INCREASE IN OPEN CONFLICTS OF OPINION. FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW IT DOES NOT LOOK AS IF THE VISIT PRODUCED ANY SIGNIFICANT BREAKTHROUGHS, ALTHOUGH MOSCOW WILL PROBABLY FIND REASSURING THE RESTATEMENT BY THE SHAH OF IRAN'S INTENTION TO GIVE A FURTHER ECONOMIC BASIS TO SOVIET-IRANIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE COMMUNIQUE IS EXPECTEDLY POSITIVE ON SOVIET-IRANIAN BILATERAL COOPERATION. REFLECTING THE SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY BOOTH PODGORNYY AND THE SHAH IN DINNER SPEECHES NOVEMBER 18, IT EXPRESSES SATISFACTION AT THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAST COOPERATION AND PLEDGES "THE FIRM INTENTION" OF BOTH PARTIES TO STRENGTHEN GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS. THE COMMUNIQUE PUTS AN ECONOMIC BASE TO THIS GENERAL PLEDGE BY EXPRESSING THE JOINT AIM OF BROADENING ECONOMIC TIES "ON A MUTUALLY PROFITABLE AND LONG-TERM BASIS" AND ANNOUNCING AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO "SEVERAL LARGE PROJECTS OF SUCH COOPERATION IN IRAN AND THE SOVIET UNION."

WE ASSUME THAT REFERENCE TO PROJECTS IN THE USSR IS PROBABLY AN INDICATION OF MOVEMENT REGARDING THE IRAN-SOVIET-FRG PIPELINE PROJECT.

3. ON INTERNATIONAL TOPICS THE COMMUNIQUE APPEARS MORE INTERESTING FOR WHAT IT DOES NOT SAY THAN FOR WHAT IT DOES. IT CONTAINS A FAIRLY STANDARD BROAD ENDORSEMENT OF DETENTE AND PLEDGES EACH PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF RELAXATION OF TENSIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IT DOES NOT--AS HAVE EARLIER SOVIET-IRANIAN COMMUNIQUE--GO INTO DETAILS ON SUCH SUBJECTS AS DISSARMAMENT, CSCE, OR OTHER TOPICS.

4. TREATMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST - THE ONLY INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM ACCORDED ANY LENGTHY ATTENTION - APPEARS TO REFLECT A COMPROMISE ON LANGUAGE. IT DIFFERS FROM MOST RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS IN MAKING DIRECT REFERENCE TO SC RESOLUTION 242. IT ALSO DIFFERS FROM NORMAL SOVIET LANGUAGE ON THE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT BY NOTING "THAT THE LIBERATION OF ALL ARAB LANDS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 17621 212040Z

OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967 IS THE CHIEF CONDITION FOR SOLVING THIS PROBLEM AND SECURING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS REGION, INCLUDING THE ARAB PEOPLES OF THIS REGION, INCLUDING THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE" (MORE USUAL SOVIET LANGUAGE SIMPLY CALLS FOR TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND SECURING PALESTINIAN RIGHTS). SOVIET INTERESTS ARE MET IN A JOINT EXPRESSION OF OPINION FAVORING THE EARLIEST RENEWAL OF THE MEPC.



5. THE IRANIANS GAVE A LESS PRECISE ENDORSEMENT TO MOSCOW'S ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME THAN THAT ACCEPTED DURING HOVEYDA'S VISIT HERE IN AUGUST 1973. THE PARTIES "DREW ATTENTION TO THE DESIRABILITY OF ACTIVATING WORK AIMED AT CREATING SYSTEMS OF SECURITY IN ASIA BASED ON THE JOINT EFFORTS OF ALL STATES." IN RETURN FOR THIS ALBEIT DILUTED IRANIAN CONCESSION, THE SOVIETS REENDORSED THE CONVICTION THAT QUESTIONS REGARDING THE PERSIAN GULF "SHOULD BE SOLVED BY THE STATES OF THIS REGION THEMSELVES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER."

6. COMMUNIQUE'S ONLY APPARENT REFERENCE TO THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN AVOIDS DIRECT REFERENCE TO EITHER PARTY. IT ALLUDES TO AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON A "NUMBER OF OTHER MATTERS REGARDING THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST"; THE PARTIES "IN A SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS" EXPRESSED THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. THIS SUGGESTS BLUNT TALK ABOUT IRAQ-IRAN DIFFERENCES WITHOUT RESULTS AND IS SIGNIFICANT IN LIGHT OF PODGORNYY'S CALL IN HIS NOVEMBER 18 SPEECH FOR A SETTLEMENT OF IRANIAN-IRAQI DISPUTES THROUGH NEGOTIATION. OUR READING OF THE SHAH'S RESPONSE TO PODGORNYY ON THIS POINT IS THAT THE IRANIANS MAY HAVE BEEN INCENSED AT PODGORNYY'S REFERENCE TO THE ISSUE AND RESISTED EVEN THE MOST ANODYNE REFERENCE TO IT IN THE COMMUNIQUE. WE ALSO INTERPRET THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT BREZHNEV WILL VISIT IRAQ DURING HIS JANUARY ME TOUR AND ITS PLACEMENT IN PRAVDA RIGHT OVER THE SOVIET-IRANIAN COMMUNIQUE ASSURE THE IRAQIS THAT SILENCE IN THIS INSTANCE IS NOT SINISTER AND POINTEDLY TO REMIND THE SHAH ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF SOVIET COMMITMENTS TO BAGHDAD.  
MATLOCK

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY'S PARTY.CONFIDENTIAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 17621 212040Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ECONOMIC COOPERATION, MEETINGS, PROGRAMS (PROJECTS), PIPELINES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 21 NOV 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CollinP0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974MOSCOW17621  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740338-0235  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19741124/aaaaaubi.tel  
**Line Count:** 152  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CollinP0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07 MAY 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <07 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <21 MAR 2003 by CollinP0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SHAH'S VISIT TO MOSCOW  
**TAGS:** PFOR, IR, UR, (SHAH)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005